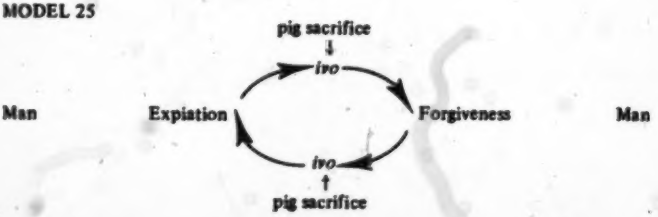
5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.

Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of the whole transaction:

MODEL 25



This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasize even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely social purpose in mind. 301 554

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, *hambo* and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private existence is covered over to display only his social function. 301 302 292 776 [825] [824]

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object easily transferable from one individual to another. it always belongs essentially to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent, make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From 301 431 556 425

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

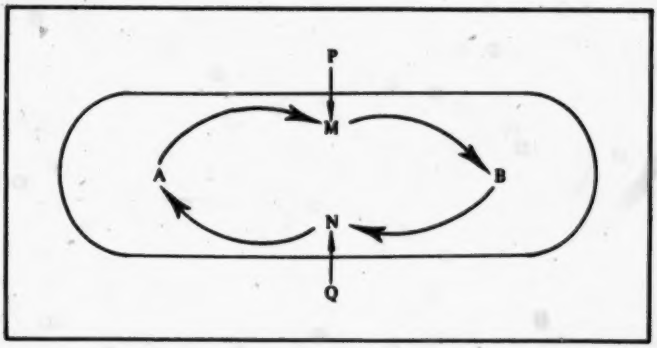
an economic standpoint, it is important that they represent storable wealth – the only storable wealth of the Orokaiva. Nearly every family today keeps *hambo* and feathers in a locked suitcase, thus elevating the suitcase into one of the most ubiquitous introduced elements of Orokaiva material culture.

The distinctive characteristic of the *hambo*, as compared with other objects of mediation considered here, lies in the type of social exchange that is mediated by means of *hambo* gifts. One might say that the partners are exchanging spirit participation. No doubt cultures vary in the extent to which individuals lend and give each other their private religious paraphernalia, i.e. the objects they use to achieve communion with their deities. In a society as exchange-oriented as the Orokaiva, where virtually everything is exchanged, there is clearly some special satisfaction in wearing someone else's *hambo*. Furthermore, a 'total presentation' such as bridewealth, which is intended to create a social relationship on a great many levels, must always include the sacral level represented by *hambo*.

7. *The Nature of Mediation*

In the last five chapters exchange has been discussed largely on the assumption that it occurs on two levels. First, it occurs on the mythico-religious level where exchange relations are stated in the form of binary oppositions or possibly also some other more complex structures. Among the examples discussed have been coconut/betelnut and the pair of initiatory flutes. Secondly, exchange occurs on the social level where each exchange partner subjectively views the other as transcendent and reachable only with the aid of some form of mediation. The belief in the magical efficacy of any given object of exchange is validated by notions deriving from the mythico-religious level. If A and B stand for exchange partners/objects of exchange, M and N for objects of mediation, and P and Q for relevant binary oppositions present on the mythico-religious level, we may represent our model of exchange as follows:

MODEL 33



556 [888] [178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs[1] (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,[2] organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations [622] of independent kin groups. Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

625 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Awala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organization of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'[3] Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

---

[1] Cf. kiti iigari (p.30).

[515] [2] Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

[3] Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

assumptions on which the thesis is based warrant discussion at this stage. These are, one, that in the 'pure subsistence unit'

> What they produce is either consumed by themselves or goes to waste. Saving is limited to the storage of such necessities as can be stored as a reserve against a rainy day, a poor harvest or sickness, and to occasional preparation for increased consumption in feasts and ceremonial. Beyond that there is no incentive to save, or to produce at a level beyond their normal immediate consumption. The level of production is therefore subject to a very definite ceiling, which may be well below their potential capacity to produce, in that when they have produced sufficient of what they know how to produce to meet their immediate needs, there is no point in producing more. The production of a surplus beyond that requirement adds nothing to their satisfactions, present or future. (Fisk 1962:463)

and, two, that 'economic and ceremonial activity are distinct and seperate':

> Ceremonial activity and the preparations therefor we shall treat in the category of leisure activity, and as affecting economic activity only to the extent that certain amounts of leisure activity are socially regarded as necessary, and that the amounts of labour available for economic activities are socially limited thereby. (Fisk 1962:464)

Power and prestige in New Guinea are dependent largely upon the control of goods and services. There is, ideally, no limit to the number of wives, pigs and gardens a man may have, and the more he has the greater the productive capacity of his particular subsistence unit. As his level of production increases, that part which is distributed as opposed to consumed increases disproportionately, and so the range and degree to which others are indebted to him increases. Not only does this serve to elevate his status but it provides him with considerable security in times of stress and when making further investments. Insofar as the distributive system itself is concerned, ceremonial activities (although emphasised in the anthropological literature) may be less significant and time-consuming than informal gift-giving; although the principle of reciprocation is at the basis of both, specific goods and services do have exchange values so that they do not necessarily operate on a like-for-like basis. Thus the pattern tends towards a powerful (wealthy) individual distributing goods (foodstuffs) and being reciprocated with services (labour). This has the effect of increasing his capacity to produce and so further elevating his status. Political, social and economic behaviour are therefore inextricably connected and 'leisure' activities cannot be considered apart from the economic system. An example from the Orokaiva will serve to demonstrate the point.

556 [25] [24] [43] [437] An important status indicator is the size of an individual's yam holding. Yams both enter into ceremonial exchanges and are stored for consumption during the dry season when garden foods are in short supply. Compared with taro, work on yams is 'hard' and not everybody grows them. In harvesting the owner seeks assistance from others and the services so rendered are normally reciprocated in the form of gifts of yams rather than the subsequent rendering of an equivalent labour service. The more assistance an individual can solicit the greater his potential capacity to increase his yam holding and so increase his standing in the community while meeting some of the needs of those without yams. In such a case there is no limit to the individual level of production although there is in demand of the group as a whole. However, there is no evidence to suggest this demand is met since annually people must resort to the production of less favoured foods such as sago to satisfy requirements. This suggests that the customarily defined span of activities may be so great as to leave the people without the capacity to satisfy their demand for yams, although the exchange system functioning through the network of ceremonial and leisure activities does permit the more even distribution of scarce resources among the group and provide its individual members with a higher degree of security than they would otherwise have.

433

[24]

121 Disregarding the merits of Fisk's hypothesis as applied to pristine subsistence communities, virtually all are now elements in much broader political, economic and religious systems. This is directly reflected in work patterns where novel demands are made on the people's time and the level of out-migration by adult males leaves a heavier work load for those remaining behind. As the linkages with the external sector become more effective so these features, which may be largely unrelated to the increasing commercialisation of the economy, become more significant. On these grounds Salisbury's thesis (1962) that the change from a stone to steel technology has resulted in a considerable saving of labour time in certain axe-using activities cannot usefully be presented as additional evidence for the availability of labour for commercial activities.

A final reason for making a comprehensive study of activity patterns is to test the assumption that the particular nature of organisation in subsistence agriculture is well suited to the grafting on of commercial activities. In considering tillage, animal husbandry and construction in traditional societies Udy (1960:85) states:

> None of these processes ordinarily requires the individual attention of members of the production organization. It is perfectly possible to cultivate a field, tend a herd, or build a house, and be carrying on some other activity during the same period. In fact, in tillage and animal husbandry there are limits beyond which more exclusive attention to the process

454 money received from them. As demonstrated in Table 10:15, such
431 people serve as a major source of storebought goods, other than foodstuffs. The size of such gifts is demonstrated by the following two cases.

One: a householder visited his sister and sister's husband (also his wife's brother) working in Port Moresby. At the end of his visit he received $20 in cash, a dog and a suitcase containing the following items - 4 dresses, 2 pairs of underpants, 4 pairs of shorts, 5 shirts, 10 lengths of calico, 1 skirt, 2 pairs of child's shorts, 1 child's dress, 11 plates, 1 cauldron, 7 spoons, 1 blanket, 1 sleeping mat, 2 handkerchiefs and a child's shirt. From another of his wife's brother he received a wrist watch, while a third man paid his air fare back to Popondetta.

Two: a teenage girl spent about two months visiting and assisting her father's mother's brother's daughter and her husband on their holding at Sangara. During the course of her stay she received $1 in cash and at the end a further $2 together with the following items - flour (50c), margarine (30c), fish (20c), meat (80c), sugar (20c), rice (50c), tobacco (10c), matches (05c), and chewing gum (10c).

511 The expenditure patterns of cash are much the same for both cash and non-cash croppers; in both cases trade store purchases account for about half and payments to external agencies (licences, tax and mission offerings) account for a further one-fifth of the total. Non-cash croppers have less money available but utilise it in much the same manner - in effecting what are largely necessary exchanges [436] with the external sector. The small amount of money circulating as exchanges between villagers (12 per cent of income and 15 per cent of expenditure) reveals the non-cash croppers as realising a net credit of about $10, the cash croppers a debit of about $15. While little reliance can be placed on these figures they do seem to confirm the villagers' recognition of a distinct though restricted movement of money towards the former to supplement their limited cash resources and fulfil their requirements for it. In fact, the incomes of cash cropping households exceed those of all others, while, of the five households with the highest incomes, the heads [556] of four are the most respected within the sample. Thus, as with work, the intensity of exchange or activity in the monetary sector is apparently recognised as one criterion engendering respect among villagers. Alternatively, at the present level of commercialisation, it does not appear to conflict with customary considerations in the evaluation of status.

454 Even in the case of households with incomes of $2 per week there is little evidence of serious attempts at capital formation or investment. Any periodic excess of income over expenditure is normally kept as cash on hand in the house to be drawn on as required. Only four instances of monetary investments, involving two

A.[See Category 437, p.214--Analyst]

561 the ones with the largest surplus of production above their immediate household needs. This pattern, in association with the particular roles of the oldest and youngest age groups, appears to support the widely held proposition of individuals building up 'credit' within the community to draw upon in their old age. The data might equally be interpreted as suggesting that most of the transactions are concerned with personal aggrandisement and only the middle age groups are capable of achieving this. Thus, in the exchange of labour services, there is a significant outflow from the 15 to 24 years age group and an inflow into the 55 years plus - that is, from a group where labour is the one abundant resource to another where it is scarce and needed to achieve subsistence - yet the 35 to 44 years group also registers a net inflow. Much of the labour received by the 55 years plus age group was connected with sago-making and this same group accounted for half the sago distributed. Since the individual concerned, within this age group, was unable to collect his own breadfruit and had no other way of reciprocating other gifts, offering one of his sago trees proved an effective way of settling his obligations and, at the same time, meeting his own dry season food requirements while expending little of his own labour.

[556] Each of the three other age groups plays an important role in the flow of specific resources. The 45 to 54 years group largely controls the movement of pigs, one of the main traditional indicators of wealth, but not of products associated with the monetary sector. These latter are divided differentially between the 35 to 44 and 25 to 34 years groups, the first being concerned primarily with cash cropping, from which its revenue is mostly derived and therefore its access to storebought goods, while the second relies heavily on remittances and parcels of goods from relatives in wage employment.

In effect the three middle age groups control the circulation of 'wealth', with that of the 25 to 34 years group being founded almost exclusively on non-traditional goods, that of the 45 to 54 years on traditional, and that of the 35 to 44 years encompassing the two where they are derived from agricultural endeavours (garden produce and cash crops).

<u>The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic status of transacting partners</u>

177 Within the total economic system, of which the subsistence villagers comprise the basic stratum, a number of distinct socio-economic categories can be identified with each playing a distinctive role in the pattern of exchanges. On the one hand there are the institutions or organisations associated with the expatriate community or directly promoted by them - the Administration, the OCGS, the Anglican mission, the trade store, the market, etc. - with which transactions are of a formal nature and operate between the individual villager and 178 others in their roles as members of an institution. On the other 166

8: Waddell & Krinks B-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

592
437

Table 11:8

Inonda: transactions of main categories of subsistence produce and services, by household
(quantity per man-week)

Household	Garden and forest produce (lbs) A	D	Hunting and fishing produce (lbs) A	D	Labour services (hours) A	D
16*	31.7	28.5	4.4	1.4	2.5	1.2
17*	29.1	27.4	3.9	6.6	1.8	0.6
18	50.3	59.9	4.3	1.4	1.6	1.8
19	21.0	7.8	0.3	4.8	0.3	2.3
20	29.5	22.1	3.7	20.1	0.3	1.6
21*	35.2	31.6	6.5	4.9	2.6	1.0
22	11.2	21.6	4.1	-	-	-
23*	32.5	26.5	6.0	9.7	2.6	1.3
24	17.9	36.6	11.7	1.9	0.6	0.2
Mean for 9 households	29.7	29.0	5.2	6.3	1.6	1.1
Mean for cash cropping households	32.0	28.5	5.1	5.3	2.4	1.0
Mean for non-cash cropping households	26.6	29.7	5.3	7.8	0.5	1.2

* Cash cropping households.

17 and 21) all received more assistance in total than the average, while households which assisted with sago-making, such as households 19 and 20, disposed of more in total. However, household 23 received assistance in house construction and subsistence gardening but not in sago-making. In addition to receiving help with sago-making, household 21 received assistance in establishing a coffee garden. Most of this assistance was given by his mother, the widow in household 18. The widower gave most assistance per week (as well as a considerable quantity of hunting produce), in return for the surplus of vegetable produce he received.

Acquisition and disposal rates for storebought goods and cash also differ little from one household to another. Household 22, although present only during period I, records a comparatively high rate of transactions for food and stimulants. While resident in the village the head spent several weeks working for a settler and two weeks away on a fishing expedition. It is probable that his gardens suffered accordingly, making considerable purchases of rice necessary. The man belongs to the traditionally subordinate clan branch, Jego'undi, and, being neither a cash cropper nor a particularly influential person, his circumstances may have provided an incentive

[556]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Table 11:9

Inonda: transactions of cash and main categories of storebought goods, by household
(mean amount transacted per man-month in $)

Household	Cash		Food and stimulants		Household and working equipment	Personal goods
	A	D	A	D	A	A
16*	2.12	2.95	1.34	0.24	0.16	0.65
17*	1.19	1.26	1.54	0.27	0.14	0.97
18	0.07	0.39	1.35	0.30	0.23	0.44
19	0.23	0.38	0.90	0.02	0.22	0.18
20	3.12	3.76	2.94	0.30	0.37	0.70
21*	3.20	2.89	3.08	0.43	0.40	0.20
22	2.12	2.93	3.14	0.62	0.24	1.04
23*	11.45	12.33	4.22	0.70	1.71	3.99
24	3.97	1.44	2.20	0.15	0.15	0.01
Mean for 9 households	3.39	3.53	2.32	0.34	0.43	0.99
Mean for cash cropping households	4.23	4.64	2.41	0.39	0.56	1.38
Mean for non-cash cropping households	2.26	2.01	2.20	0.26	0.25	0.45

* Cash cropping households.

to demonstrate wealth not only by buying rice but also by distributing it frequently. This household is second only to the entrepreneur's (household 23) in its level of transactions of storebought goods. In contrast, it acquired relatively little garden produce and a below-average amount of game and fish per week and it took no part in the exchange of services, reflecting the weakness of its links with the Andirihaha residents. Household 23 has the highest rate of acquisition of personal goods. Apart from purchases (see Table 11:11) this household received the clothing parcel from Australia. Household 17 also has quite a high rate of acquisition of personal goods. During the survey, the husband and wife had a quarrel in which most of their clothing was destroyed and had to be replaced - much of it by gifts from the wife's sister, who is married to a plantation labourer.

Over a given period cash croppers receive more of most classes of items than non-cash croppers, with the exception of fish and game. Non-cash croppers tend to dispose of more subsistence goods and services, but cash croppers dispose of larger amounts of monetary items, admittedly largely due to the high level attained by the entrepreneur in household 23. Apart from this household, there is nothing to distinguish individual households which rely on commercial crops for their income from households relying on other sources.

In the same way, there appears to be little relationship between the levels of transactions in most categories and either the rank of household heads or the total area cultivated by households. Where possibly significant differences in the rates of acquisitions and disposals appear, they are mostly explainable in terms of the various factors mentioned above. However, as regards rank, it is striking that the leading man's household is first in its rate of acquisition of most items, though only second for taro and pigmeat. It leads in acquisitions of both cash and subsistence sector services and is second in its rate of disposals of taro, banana, pigmeat and subsistence services.

It appears, then, that high status confers both material responsibilities and benefits. The main advantage accruing to the entrepreneur seems to be that he needs to spend less time than others in gardening and the time thus saved is directed into cash-producing activities.[1] This consideration applies only to the leading men and transactions according to the other rankings do not fall into a noticeable order.

(b) The expenditure of cash

Table 11:10 shows the pattern of purchases by each household during each recording period and over the whole survey. While there are considerable differences between households in the total value of purchases and a wide range in the proportion of cash income devoted to commodity purchases, there is less difference in the actual composition of the expenditure patterns (see Table 11:11).

For all but one household (which has a total expenditure below $3), food and stimulants account for over half of the purchases. Rice forms between 7 and 16 per cent of the total of all except the Jego'undi household, the proportion varying little over the survey. Flour on the other hand, was bought only during period II, when it formed almost one-quarter of all purchases and the proportions of tinned meat and fish in particular were reduced. The proportion formed by clothing and personal goods is also reduced at this time. All households, except the widow's, purchase flour, the amount bearing no relation to income.

None of the households containing the older people (18, 19 and 24) bought clothing, while only one (24) bought any other personal goods or tools and equipment. Apart from these, the other non-cash cropping households (20 and 22) also spend small proportions on these categories and on household goods compared with the proportions of expenditure allocated by the cash cropping households (16, 17, 21 and 23). Clothing accounts for one-quarter of the expenditure of three of the latter households.

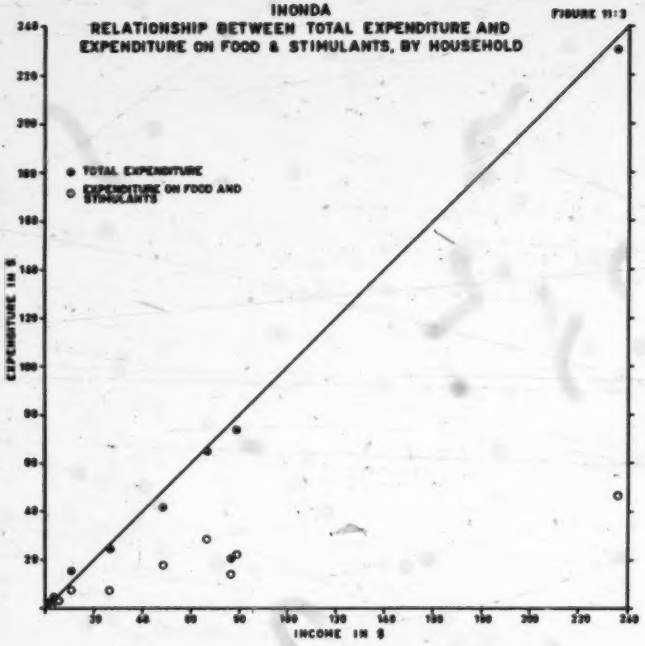
---

[1] See pp.161-2.

511
592

INONDA
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL EXPENDITURE AND EXPENDITURE ON FOOD & STIMULANTS, BY HOUSEHOLD

FIGURE 11:3

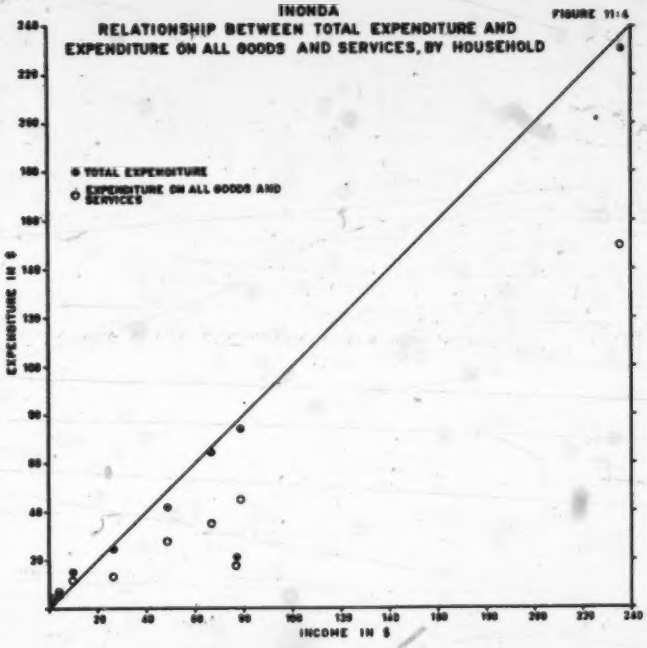


priority. Inonda people with incomes below $20 over the 26-week survey spent virtually all their income in purchasing (apart from tax payment). As income rises above this level, expenditure on commodities increases but people also are able to invest their money or to circulate it in the form of gifts, with the latter having greater priority. Monetary investment (whether in purchases of shares or deposits in savings accounts) usually involves larger sums than gifts which may be as small as 10c, but gifts are much more frequent and are a more characteristic element in the exchange patterns. Naturally, the higher cash income a household receives, the more it is able to dispose of in gifts as well as meeting its own material needs. As generosity in distribution is a major source

[556]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

511
592


INONDA
FIGURE 11:4
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL EXPENDITURE AND EXPENDITURE ON ALL GOODS AND SERVICES, BY HOUSEHOLD
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
EXPENDITURE ON ALL GOODS AND SERVICES
EXPENDITURE IN $
INCOME IN $

of prestige, income should show a positive correlation with rankings and Table 11:12 illustrates this.[1]

556
592
[511]

Again, the relationship is not clear-cut - household 19, the widower, has a very low income but high status in certain respects, reflecting his age, his knowledge of land and personal relationships

[1] All the household heads were ranked in terms of both the people's own evaluation of their status relative to each other, and the researchers' observations on individual wealth, participation in village affairs, influence in decision-making, etc.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

592
556
434

Table 11:12

Incomes: cash income during the whole survey period and rank of households

Household	Rank	Income in $
23	1	147.72
20	2	41.44
24	3	41.30
21	3	39.40
16	4	38.50
17	4	16.40
22	4	10.60
19	2	1.50
18	4	0.50

556
592

and his generosity with his main resource, labour. Household 16 is grouped in the lowest rank although its income level is in the same order as people in the second and third ranks. A further complication is that household 24, though accorded a relatively high rank, has a comparatively low rate of expenditure, particularly in the form of gifts of either cash or storebought foods. Allowing for these factors, however, it seems that the qualities that gain respect for an individual within the traditional village sphere of operation also tend to be those that encourage the acquisition of cash.

Income and expenditure of cash over 47 weeks

434
511

The figures in Table 11:13 represent current income from all sources, including withdrawals from savings accounts and all expenditure, including deposits in savings accounts. Unlike the data for other items of exchange, details of income and expenditure of cash were collected not only for the three recording periods but also for the intervening weeks. Although this subsidiary data may be rather less accurate than the rest, it has been taken into consideration in some of the tables below and thus provides a record of cash transactions over 11 months, from February 1964 to January 1965.

Table 11:13 shows the total income and expenditure of cash per household over 11 months, including the coffee season, and reveals that there is a net inflow of cash amounting to $72.96 for the village as a whole or $8.12 per household. In fact, however, both income and expenditure vary widely between households. Also, the income of households 16, 21 and 23 includes withdrawals from savings accounts and the expenditure of household 23 includes a deposit in his account. Household 23 has the highest income with $235.42, which is 43 per cent of the total for all 9 households, but its expenditure

438 462 greater sharing of refreshments by men when working or travelling together. Men are most prominent, however, in transactions of the produce of hunting and fishing, particularly wallaby, pig and fish. They engage in these activities more than women and a hunter will often give a whole pig or wallaby to a male relative, very rarely to a woman. The only instances recorded of gifts of carcasses to women were two young pigs caught in traps and a wallaby found dead (perhaps killed by a dog) on the roadway. As a rule, women are concerned in the distribution of meat only after an animal has been butchered. Women receive half the fish distributed, since young men returning from fishing expeditions almost invariably give part of the catch to close female relatives.

562 As men both earn and dispose of most of the money, it is to be expected that they acquire most of the storebought items - cooking utensils are the only significant exception, due to a single large purchase by one woman. Women are free to keep and dispose as they wish of cash acquired from gifts or in marketing (although they acquire less than men in this way) and husbands also give their [439] wives sums of money as presents or for specific purchases. Women account for a slightly larger share of disposals of some storebought goods, especially rice, reflecting the fact that in Inonda rice is becoming an accepted subsidiary food and may be included in the routine daily exchanges of cooked food. This is true of flour also [556] in the dry season. Rice is commonly prepared for visitors from other villages, perhaps to stress the wealth and 'modernity' of the Inonda people. As regards cash itself, most is handled by men.

437 462 562 Services are usually said to be given to household heads, so it is natural that most labour services are acquired by men. Those acquired expressly by women are largely in the form of garden and household tasks and house construction. Almost all the labour services relating to the cash sector are in cultivation of cash crops and, since women do not own commercial trees, are received by men, although the former do assist in their establishment and maintenance. In the subsistence sector, men own and control the exploitation of sago-palms and as sago-making accounts for 46 per cent of all assistance received in subsistence tasks, men are again dominant. They also provide most of the assistance in sago-making, and therefore account for the larger part of disposals of subsistence services.

The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic category of transacting partners

438 For each transaction, the name of the donor or recipient was recorded, together with his place of residence and occupational category - that is, whether he was a villager, a regular wage earner within the District, an ex-serviceman settler, or a wage earner resident outside the District. The categories are mutually

household head. Only one man looked after his own hambo and di, and he was an elderly man who spent much of his time at home. The last household had no valuables. It consisted of a young couple and the man had given what few articles he possessed for his wife's bride-price. He has a job at present and is meeting his traditional commitments with cash.

The processes by which the valuables were acquired are shown in the following table (in equivalent cash values):

Table 6

Acquisition of hambo and di

	Inheritance	Cash purchase	Barter	Bride-price	Made or caught	Other exchanges	Total
Hambo	9. 6.0	18.1.0	10.16.0	6.10.0	2.19.0	6.17 0	54. 9.0
Di	2.17.0	1.0.0	3. 0.0	3.14.0	10.11.0	2. 5.0	23. 7.0
Total	12. 3.0	19.1.0	13.16.0	10. 4.0	13.10.0	9. 2 0	77.16.0

(These figures are slightly different from those listed in Table 5 above as these exclude details for one household which was in mourning, and include details of articles previously held by another household but since stolen.)

In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of hambo and di demonstrated a man's prowess or that of his forebears. Wild pigs' tusks form the main components of most hambo and the spearing of wild pigs was a hazardous task requiring skill and courage. The next most important components were sea-shells, and they could only be obtained by contact with coastal folk (or from others who had contact with coastal folk). Such inter-tribal contacts appear to have been infrequent and risky. Feathers were obtained by snaring birds, a time-consuming process involving patient watching of intricately constructed traps and snares. The introduction of shotguns has facilitated the hunting of pigs and birds. There is now less skill and less time involved than previously. The trophies are consequently more abundant and of lower value. Likewise trading with the coastal people no longer requires courage or detailed

preliminary planning. One may walk to the coast at any time and obtain sea-shells by purchase or barter. Moreover, many people now place a higher value on imported objects, both ornamental and utilitarian.

Nevertheless, hambo and di still have a value. A man derives prestige from being "rich in hambo", a wedding is not complete without the exchange of valuables, and a man is not properly dressed for important festivals unless he is adorned with hambo and di. Moreover, one is sometimes forced to acquire hambo, as in the case of a relatively wealthy man in a neighbouring village who cannot decline the requests of relatives (in Inonda and elsewhere) to give them cash for hambo to enable them to pay their tax.

In a bride-price exchange which we observed a total of £41.0.0 was given in cash, plus £13.19.0 worth of hambo and di. It is significant to note that it was the closest relatives who gave cash (or cash and valuables) and generally the more distant ones (or close ones who had no access to cash) who gave traditional valuables. Likewise the most important of the recipients kept the cash, and the traditional valuables were distributed to the more distant kin.(1) At a birthday feast which we observed only cash was contributed.(2) It is apparent that money is now of greater importance than hambo and di even in local ceremonial activity.

The total value of traditional valuables held in the village is less than that of cash savings (see p. 54). Savings in cash amount to 24% of annual cash income in the village and the remainder of the income is used for current expenses. Cash circulates much more rapidly than valuables and is used for a greater variety of transactions. It is likely that the relative importance of cash will continue to increase.

Income and expenditure

Details of cash income and expenditure were collected in respect of the first eight months of the year and are

(1) For a fuller report on this wedding see Hogbin, 1963.

(2) See Crocombe, 1963.

Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

Traditional valuables. The possession of hambo (bone and shell ornaments) and di (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. Hambo and di are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the hambo and di kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

657 423 been at Ombi-Tara, in favour of briefer parties which distract less from market oriented activities.[1]

182 [829] There was verbal evidence at Ombi-Tara of further rejection of old customs since the introduction of tenure conversion. Informants often suggested that conversion marks the beginning of a new life - 'Before we were not using our land well but now we are changing everything and we will live better'. Several previous innovations in the Northern District have been greeted in like fashion (see Belshaw 1951:249, and Crocombe 1964a:29-32).

[622] [554] [614] Leadership in the traditional societies of Papua-New Guinea is generally not inherited but achieved through personal excellence in economic and political organisation and the main activities of the society including a knowledge of land tenure arrangements. It was decided by the members of the Mumu clan that their clan leader was too old to understand and adapt to the new land system. His son was not considered clever enough to succeed him and eventually the thirty-five year old son of the leader's brother was chosen as successor.

[621] The introduction of tenure changes tends to favour younger men who no longer need to defer to their elders for cash crop land. Tenure conversion at Ombi-Tara may also affect the balance of 'informal' authority in the area by altering the balance of land rights. Before conversion some individuals had rights to considerably larger areas of land than others. This was of some significance [556] in determining status and prestige. Since conversion, each individual has rights to twenty acres of land. The long-term effect of this equalisation on social organisation and informal status and prestige systems may be of some significance.

[614] [627] The functions of the clan leader are little changed by the new tenure system. As before, he has no jurisdiction over land held by individuals. He previously had limited authority to intervene if one man planted on another's land without permission and under the new system can prevent one man planting behind another's block. He is charged with preventing people from other clans or other areas planting on his clan's land in much the same way as before tenure conversion, with the difference that now his jurisdiction in this matter applies only to the clan land outside the blocks.

Obligations

571 Mutual assistance and mutual obligation patterns provide a system of social security, a form of institutional safeguard

---

[1] Similar changes have been reported in another Orokaiva area by Crocombe (1966:71-2) and Hogbin (1966:81-3).

177 concepts drawn from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The
political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
[203] a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the
information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors,
introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is
being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited
[464] periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and
are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for
instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out
in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the
second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages
are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepa men who were absent
on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular
income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepa men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation
rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
438 indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta
markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying
goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

436 Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
511 and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales.
Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene
mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for
feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps,
bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with
current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
459 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
556 however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation
of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepa men had
savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This
money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact
of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that
Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could
get power only if they too possessed savings.

436 If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
437 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva
have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual
sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the
Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost
in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained
from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can

177 It is always the individuals who have travelled who are responsible for innovations either by setting a personal example or by persuading the community.

657 I have not yet referred to the deepest acculturative influence
177 that was absorbed before the time of the eruption, namely the abolition of inter-village warfare. Pacification had effects in all aspects of culture: the kinship system, economic, religion, politics. It would take a full monograph to trace these manifold affects satisfactorily. The other major change of the early colonisation period, the introduction of steel tools, was the subject of a recent book by Salisbury. I have already pointed out that Waddell does not accept for the Orokaiva Salisbury's thesis that the introduction of steel tools liberated a vast amount of leisure time thus bringing many luxuries within reach of the people. Waddell points out that the time now spent on cash cropping is about equal to the time gained by the use of steel tools.

It is useful, however, to consider more broadly what have been the effects of, not only the technological changes, but also the political and ideological ones. By 1951, the Orokaiva had learned and--in the ward of the 40's--rediscovered the magnitude of white power and the need to respect it. They had also learned how vast were the resources of white power and to what extent some of these resources could suddenly become available to the Orokaiva, as happened during the American army operations. They had seen that congenial relations with white people were possible in certain circumstances, as during the
(556) war. The acquisition of wealth and power comparable to that of the white people had become a generally recognised objective. Only the
(484) means by which this end could be achieved were still obscure. The Orokaiva therefore began to value highly any opportunity to travel, to observe the white man and his ways and those who had travelled were accepted in the village as persons knowledgeable as to the means of pursuing wealth and power.

(731) Developments since 1951 provided increasing opportunities for gathering this knowledge. The evacuation camps and resettlement villages provided precisely the kind of experience for which the Orokaiva had been searching. If the eruption had occurred two decades earlier, the response to European relief measure would not have been so prompt and cooperative. Somehow the experiences of the 1940's, with the rapid influx of foreign goods, the opening up of employment opportunities after the war, the establishment of numerous village schools had made the Australian rulers appear less threatening and stimulated a desire for further contact which was apparent in Orokaiva reactions to Australian post-eruption policies.